

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 026988

13

ORIGIN NEA-13

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T STATE 026988

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY TU

SUBJECT:DEBATE ON "UNITARY" VERSUS "FEDERAL" AND OTHER
CYPRIOT GAMES

REF: NICOSIA 224 AND 232

1. DEPARTMENT AGREES WITH EMBASSY NICOSIA THAT IN CONTEXT OF INCREASING DEBATE OVER "UNITARY" VERSUS "FEDERAL" USG SHOULD (A) NOT BECOME EMBROILED IN SEMANTIC DISPUTES AND ONE UPSMANSHIP EFFORTS OF TWO SIDES AND (B) USG SHOULD URGE PARTIES TO REFRAIN FROM STERILE DEBATE OVER MEANING OF WORDS AND CONCENTRATE ON NEGOTIATING SUBSTANCE OF CYPRUS SOLUTION.

2. PROBLEM WITH THE "UNITARY" VERSUS "FEDERAL" ARGUMENT GOES BACK TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TALKS IN JUNE OF
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SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 026988

1968. THE FACT IS THAT BOTH GOT AND TURK CYPRIOT LEADER-

SHIP SUPPORTED THE "UNITARY" FORMULA IN THIS PERIOD. FOR INSTANCE, GOT FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL INFORMED OUR AMBASSADOR ON SEPTEMBER 23, 1968 THAT "TURKISH SIDE HAD ACCEPTED IDEA OF UNITARY STATE, BUT IT WAS NECESSARY TO DEFINE CLEARLY THE RIGHTS TO BE GROUPED UNDER HEADING OF LOCAL AUTONOMY." SIMILARLY ON MAY 20, 1969 TURK CYPRIOT VICE PRESIDENT KUCHUK ISSUED A STATEMENT SAYING THAT TURK CYPRIOTS WERE AIMING AT "SECURING RESPECT FOR THEIR RIGHTS TO LIVE IN PEACE AND SECURITY AS A PARTNER COMMUNITY

WITHIN A UNITARY STATE, I.E., THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS." ERALP ALSO REFERRED TO THE UNITARY STATE CONCEPT IN HIS JUNE 1969 STATEMENTS BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THE POINT HERE IS THAT IT WAS GENERALLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THE LOCAL TALKS WERE ESTABLISHED TO FIND A SOLUTION ON THE BASIS OF A "UNITARY" CYPRUS. SINCE US DIPLOMACY WAS ACTIVE IN GETTING THE TALKS STARTED, WE WERE (ARE) REGARDED BY THE GOC AS IMPLICITLY--IF NOT EXPLICITLY--SUPPORTIVE OF THIS FORMULA. WE WOULD CERTAINLY NOT ARGUE THAT THE GOT AND TURK CYPRIOTS COULD NOT CHANGE THEIR VIEW ON THIS SUBJECT. BY THE SAME TOKEN IT IS EASY TO UNDERSTAND WHY THE GOC FEELS THAT THE TURKS HAVE CHANGED THE RULES OF THE GAME FROM "UNITARY" TO "FEDERAL" AND WHY THEY REGARD THIS CHANGE AS RENEGING. WE ARE NOW RESEARCHING 1967-68 RECORDS TO DETERMINE WHAT PUBLIC ENDORSEMENT, IF ANY, USG GAVE TO "UNITARY" CONCEPT. SINCE 1968 US PUBLIC DECLARATIONS HAVE USED "UNIFIED", "SINGLE" AND "UNITED" AS PART OF THE FORMULA.

3. WE BELIEVE YOU SHOULD CHOOSE AN APPROPRIATE OCCASION TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS TO FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES IN VIEW OF HIS OPEN QUESTION:

A. USG CONTINUES TO FAVOR A SINGLE SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT CYPRUS. WE DO NOT BELIEVE USG SHOULD PREJUDGE WHATEVER AGREEMENT THE INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATORS MAY REACH, OR ATTEMPT TO ATTACH A PARTICULAR LABEL TO THE RESULT OF THEIR DISCUSSIONS.

B. USG HOPES THAT ENERGIES OF THE PARTIES CAN BE FOCUSED
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PAGE 03 STATE 026988

UPON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROPOSED AGREEMENT ITSELF RATHER THAN UPON EMOTIONAL TERMS WHICH TEND TO HINDER RATHER THAN PROMOTE SOLUTION. AS CHRISTOPHIDES AWARE, WE ARE MAKING THIS POINT IN ANKARA CONCERNING USE OF THE TERM "FEDERAL" AND WE BELIEVE WE ARE JUSTIFIED IN CYPRUS IN MAKING SIMILAR POINT CONCERNING OVER-EMPHASIS UPON THE FORMULA "UNITARY".

4. SUBSTANCE OF PARA 7C OF NICOSIA 224 HAS MERIT AND YOU MAY WISH TO MAKE THIS ADDITIONAL POINT WITH FONMIN IF YOU BELIEVE IT USEFUL. WITH RESPECT TO PARA 7A OF NICOSIA 224, DEPARTMENT DOES NOT WISH TO ENGAGE IN A "BATTLE OF THE MEMCONS" NOR TO PLACE UNDUE EMPHASIS ON OUR SEPTEMBER 27, 1972 POLICY STATEMENT SINCE IT IS ONE OF A LONG AND CHANGING LINE OF SUCH STATEMENTS. WOULD, THEREFORE, PREFER YOU NOT RPT NOT COVER THIS ITEM.

5. EMBASSY NICOSIA'S POINT THAT GOC PRESSURES FOR US TO ENDORSE ITS POSITIONS IS A NATURAL RESULT OF DIMINISHING

CONFIDENCE IN POTENTIAL FOR SUCCESS IN INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS IS WELL TAKEN. GOC SENSITIVITIES REGARDING "UNITARY"/ "FEDERAL" PHRASEOLOGY AND ATTENDANCE BY US REPRESENTATIVES AT FUNCTIONS ENHANCING THE "SOVEREIGNTY" AND SEPARATENESS OF THE TURK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY MUST BE SEEN IN THIS LIGHT.

6. WE WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT CONVERSE IS ALSO TRUE. WITH TALKS VIRTUALLY STALLED TURK CYPRIOTS AND GOT WILL BE SEEKING USG SUPPORT FOR, OR AT LEAST ACQUIESCENCE IN, ASSERTIONS REGARDING A "FEDERAL" SOLUTION FOR CYPRUS AND MANEUVERS TO ENHANCE THE STATUS OF THE TURK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY. PRESSURES ARE GOING TO BE COMING FROM BOTH DIRECTIONS. IN ADDITION, AS EVIDENCED BY GREEK CHARGE'S DEMARCHE ON GOT'S "FEDERAL" STATEMENT (STATE 26203) WE CAN PROBABLY EXPECT SOME PRESSURES FROM THE GOG AS WELL.

7. WITH BOTH SIDES ENDEAVORING TO USE THE USG TO LEGITIMIZE THEIR POSITIONS AND STATEMENTS, DEPARTMENT BELIEVES IT IS VERY WORTH WHILE TO QUIETLY BUT CLEARLY INFORM BOTH GOC AND TURK CYPRIOTS/TURKS THAT USG WILL NOT BE DRAWN INTO ANY EFFORT TO SHIFT INTERCOMMUNAL RELATIONS IN
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SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 026988

EITHER DIRECTION.

8. AT THIS STAGE OF SYMBOLIC POSITIONING PLOYS, WE DO NOT REGARD BASIC INTERESTS OF EITHER GOT OR GOC--WITH OR WITHOUT RUSSIAN SUPPORT--ENGAGED (PARAS 4 AND 6 OF NICOSIA 232). WE EXPECT OUR EFFORTS TO GENERALLY STAY OUT OF SEMANTIC AND TACTICAL DISPUTES WILL BE ACCEPTED--UNDOUBTEDLY WITHOUT ENTHUSIASM--IN ANKARA AND NICOSIA.

9. NICOSIA 247 JUST RECEIVED. DEPT. PREPARING A REPLY.
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